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VOLUME XXIV, No. 25

MONDAY, MAY 11, 1931

WHOLE No. 662

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The Classical Weekly

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WHOLE No. 662

REFLECTIONS ON REREADING VERGIL

(Concluded from page 190)

Even Turnus, a second Achilles, *audax*²², *turbidus*, *fervidus*, cool-headed in extremest danger, careless of omens and portents, fearless alike of god and man, in his last moments appeals thus to Aeneas (12.932-934): 'if any feeling for a hapless parent can touch you, pity, I beg, the old age of Daunus: you too had such a father, Anchises'. It is the Homeric motive by which Priam worked so wonderfully upon the feelings of Achilles in ransoming the body of Hector (Iliad 22.420; 24.486-506), but it belongs no less to the filial Aeneas from that fatal night when the murder of Priam warned him to hasten to the protection of his father of like age (2.559-562), and it strikes a fitting note at the very end of the long story of the Aeneid. Who knows that Vergil did not often say to himself too: 'Such was my aged father?'

We could multiply citations of the pathetic strokes which Vergil's sensitive heart leads him to put upon these tragic moments. Acron (10.720, 722) had come to war leaving his nuptials unfinished; he wore 'a crest of crimson feathers <proud color!> and a crimson robe which his lady had given him—so he fell'. The ill-fated Antores (10.782), laid low by a blow aimed at Aeneas, looks up to heaven, and, as he dies, recalls sweet Argos, his home. Rhythm, alliteration, juxtaposition of contrasting words—every poetic device—we find employed in these pathetic pictures by Vergil, that careful writer, who, tradition says, when he was composing the Georgics, wrote as many verses as he could each morning, but then spent the rest of the day reducing them to a few, and licking them into shape as a bear does her cubs (see Suetonius, Vita Vergili 22).

It is largely due to his nature, as Glover well shows (50), that Vergil lacks the sense of exultation in battle which we find in Homer, but again we must remember that Vergil had been an onlooker in the civil war²³, in his quiet country home, had brooded upon its terror, and had seen only its suffering, as we in America to-day <1916> feel little but the inconceivable sorrows and suffering of the war across the sea. Well did Vergil know, and well do we to-day know with him, how, at the call of the trumpet blown by the fury Allecto summoning men to war, the frightened, trembling mothers (7.518) pressed their children to their breasts, and how the mothers shaking with terror stand upon the walls (8.592-593) and watch the cloud of dust and the troops gleaming with bronze.

It is easy to be disproportionately impressed by Vergil's oft-noted "ever-present sense of the tears in things", but we can not leave the subject without re-

calling his quick sympathy for other than human creatures. Who can be untouched by the picture of Sylvia's pet stag (7.500-502) as

'the wounded animal took refuge within the familiar house, moaning found shelter in his stall, and, bleeding, filled the whole house with his cries like one that begged for pity?'

Again and again Vergil compares human beings in desperate plight to animals in hopeless distress, drawing such pictures that we know he had not only seen, but had felt for these hapless creatures in their impotence. Of all the hundred or more similes in the Aeneid two passages best show tenderest feeling and possess the most delicate beauty. The first has to do with the fall of Euryalus in death (9.435-437). Euryalus, says Vergil, fell

'as when some bright-hued flower cut down by the plow languishes and dies, or poppies with wearied neck droop their heads o'erladen by a shower'.

Catullus, too (11.22-23), has the comparison with a flower of the meadow cut down by the passing plough. The drooping poppy-head is suggested by Homer (Iliad 8.306-308). The other simile²⁴ seems to be Vergil's own and is most beautifully used of the dead body of Pallas which the Trojans are preparing to send home to his father (11.67-71):

'Here they lay the youth raised high on the rustic litter; so lies the flower plucked by maiden's finger, either a tender violet or drooping hyacinth, its bright hues yet undimmed, its grace unwithered still; but no longer does mother earth give it life and lend it strength'²⁵.

The great tenderness shown in these passages about the two young men whom, next to Iulus, Aeneas must have loved most of the participants in this Latin war, nearest akin to the nature of Aeneas—and to Vergil's own—illustrates the poet's interest in young men.

The Game of Troy (Aeneid 5.545-603), with which the funeral games in honor of Anchises end, is no mere perfunctory compliment to Augustus who loved and had revived it, and to the sons of the noble Romans who had recently taken part in it. No one can describe a football game without betraying to us whether he loves the sport or not. The spirited detail of Vergil's account shows that he must himself have taken delight (as who would not?) in watching the eager, excited young lads in their equestrian maneuvers. Nor could he have been so successful in his memorial verses (6.863-886) to the young Marcellus had he not felt keenly the tragedy of the blighted promise of youth,

²²Reference may be made here to a paper entitled A Classification of the Similes in Vergil's Aeneid and the Georgics, by Eliza G. Wilkins, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 14.170-174. C. K. >.

²³Compare the note by Papillon and Haigh, on 68-71. <The reference is to a work entitled P. Vergili Maronis Opera. Vergil, With an Introduction and Notes, by T. L. Papillon and A. E. Haigh (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. Volume II, which contains the notes to Eclogues, Georgics, and Aeneid, was published in 1892.) C. K. >.

²⁴See note 12, above. C. K. >.

and of *that* youth whom Rome loved, and upon whom the hopes of his mother and of Augustus, his uncle, were centered. The joy and the eagerness of the boy Ascanius in his first hunt (4.140, 156-159), the appeal of the young prince (5.670-674) in his effort to restore to sanity the crazed Trojan women who have set fire to the ships ('Look, I am your Ascanius!'), his impulsive shooting of Sylvia's stag (7.496-497), Vergil's picture of 'the fair Iulus', as Nisus and Euryalus leave the camp and attempt to win their way to Aeneas (9.310-313), describing how Ascanius

'having a mind beyond his years and a man's anxiety, gave them many messages to carry to his father <and here in proverb form comes again the Vergilian pathos foreshadowing the fate of the doomed men>, but the breezes scatter them all and give them fruitless to the clouds',

his first prowess in battle when, stung by his taunts, he shoots the boastful Numanus, but is prevented by his elders from taking further part in the war (9.590-662), and other incidents in the life of Iulus are described with the feeling of a true lover of boys²⁶. We observe Vergil's special interest in Euryalus, Lausus, Pallas, like the morning star, Pandarus and Bitias (9.672-683), young men as tall as the firs and the hills of their native country as they stand guard on either side of the gate like two lofty oaks. Even Turnus is in beauty before all others, although, as Mr. H. W. Garrod²⁷ has said,

... <Vergil> tries to depict in Turnus lawless and ungoverned passion bent upon its proper destruction; and he gives us a character whom some have taken for the true hero of the *Aeneid*....

Terence's saying²⁸ *Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto*, 'I am a man, I count nothing that concerns man alien to me', is indeed true of Vergil. I have spoken of Vergil's portrayal of the affection between parent and son. The intensely human note which is often struck in Vergil's accounts of relationships within the family and of other relationships of life appeals to us by its universal truth. Let us recall a few instances: aged Priam (2.510-525), as he puts his long unused armor upon his shoulders that tremble with age, and girds on his useless sword, ready to rush to death in the thick of the fight, while the terrified women huddle about the altar like doves in a storm and Hecuba pleads with her old husband not to attempt the battle; little Iulus leaving Troy, holding his father's hand (2.723) and not able to keep up with his father's long steps; Andromache in Epirus, as she bids goodbye to Ascanius, and, reminded of her own dead boy (3.489-491), cries

'O lad, the sole surviving image for me of my own

²⁶See a paper by Henry Osborne Ryder, *The Boy Ascanius*, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 10.210-214. C. K. >.

²⁷In his essay Vergil, in the volume entitled *English Literature and the Classics*, edited by C. S. Gordon (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1912). The essay covers pages 146-166. For the passage quoted in the text see page 161. For a review of this book see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 8.125-127. C. K. >.

²⁸See *Hautontimoroumenos* 77. In *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 5.73 (December 23, 1911) I referred briefly to an important point made by Professor Irving Babbitt, in his book *Literature and the American College* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1908), to the effect that Terence's verse is an expression of humanitarianism, not of humanism, as many have wrongly held. Only recently somewhere in random reading I saw another example of the error which Professor Babbitt condemns. C. K. >.

Astyanax, like yours were his eyes, and his hands, and like yours was the expression he used to wear; and now, if he were alive, he would be growing up of the same age as you';

the spirit of Anchises in the lower world to which that year of his son's dalliance in Carthage had been an anxious time, as he tells his son (6.694), 'How afraid I was that the kingdom of Libya would bring you harm!'; the women who desert in Sicily, to whom even the name of the sea seemed intolerable (5.766-769), yet, after they found that they might stay, then, overwhelmed by the grief of parting, wanted to go on and to endure all the hardships of flight; the aged Evander (8.155-168), who, as soon as Aeneas speaks, notices his likeness to his father, the father that Evander, when a young man, had seen. There are twins in the Rutulian forces (10.392-393) so alike that 'their own parents could not tell them apart; very pleasant it was to mistake them'. Some of these pictures illustrate Vergil's indescribable pathos. They are but a few out of many, but they will serve to remind us of other favorite passages. I will mention but one more. When the old priestess of Juno (7.421-434), who is really the Fury Allecto, exhorts Turnus to take up arms against the Trojans, he tells her (443-444),

'It is your task to guard the images and temples of the gods. Men who have to fight the wars will decide the questions of war and peace'.

In the *Iliad* (6.492), Hector (in a far different spirit; Hector is here characteristically affectionate rather than scornful) had bidden Andromache go home and see to her own household tasks, promising that he would care for the war. Turnus was not the last to tell women to attend to the observances of piety and religion and to leave war and politics to men.

We have been tempted, perhaps partly through the mood wrought in us by the inescapable sense of constant heartache throughout the world in the gigantic struggle going on to-day <1916> in Europe, such a war as would have seemed to us two years ago almost as remote as the Trojan War, into dwelling too long upon the sadder side of our poet. But we must not fail to remember that, as Mr. W. Warde Fowler says²⁹,

... The something wanting in others which we find in Virgil only, or in him more convincingly felt and more resonantly expressed, is a kindly and hopeful outlook on the world, with a deep and real sympathy for all sorrow and pain....

Let us set over against the sorrow and the pain a few glimpses of quiet domestic life.

Here is Vergil's account (8.407-413) of Vulcan rising to begin work on the Shield of Aeneas:

'Then he rises, in the midst of the course of departing night when his first rest had driven away sleep, at the time when the woman upon whom has been laid the burden of supporting life by her distaff and Minerva's fine craft first stirs the ashes and the slumbering fire, adding night to her work, and keeps her maid-servants toiling by lamp-light at the long task, that she may be able to preserve unstained her husband's couch and to rear her little children'.

²⁹The Religious Experience of the Roman People, 106 (London, Macmillan, 1911).

She is like the ideal woman of Proverbs (31.15) who "riseth while it is yet night", and Homer's³⁰

honest woman that laboureth with her hands, holds the balance, and raises the weight and the wool together, balancing them that she may win scant wages for her children.

In the Georgics we find two attractive pictures of this type, one of the farmer (Georgics 2.523-531), whose 'sweet children cling round his kisses, whose home abides in sacred purity', keeping holiday out of doors with his neighbors, the other of a cottier's winter evening, a picture which we may imagine Vergil to have drawn from actual recollections of his own home (Georgics 1.291-296):

'One, too, sitting by the late winter fire-light, watches the hours through, pointing torches with a sharp knife. Meanwhile his wife beguiles her long task with song and runs through the web with shrill-sounding shuttle, or boils down the sweet must over the fire and skims with leaves the water of the bubbling, boiling caldron'.

These three pictures of life in the simple homes of Italy and in the country bear evidence of the environment of Vergil's earlier years, as the Eclogues and the Georgics everywhere breathe the atmosphere of his country home. We are told by Donatus (= Suetonius: Vita Vergili 1)³¹ that Vergil's father made profitable the keeping of bees and the buying up of forests for their lumber. This is why Vergil knew the little thrifty bees so intimately and understood their habits and culture so well that his precepts about bee-culture are in the main still good³², and why he is so ready to draw vivid comparisons involving the cutting down of the forest trees³³ (2.626-631), the mighty oak beaten by the north wind (4.441-446), the fallen leaves in the thick woods (6.309-310), the moonlight (6.453-454) or the murmuring storm in the forest (10.97-99), the spread of a fire in a wood (10.405-409, 12.521-522), and the birds in a deep forest (11.456), or the animals of the wild woods—plundering wolves (2.355-358), a wolf (9.59-64; compare 11.809-813), a lion (9.339-341) prowling about a sheep-fold, a stag pursued by a hunting-dog (12.749-755), a wild boar at bay (10.707-713), a lion enraged (12.4-8) or in combat with a bull (10.454-456), animals wounded or in distress (4.68-73; 9.551-553, 565-566: these pictures come from his farmer's experience), angry bulls (12.103-106) or fighting bulls (12.715-722), snakes in abundance (2.379-381, 471-475; 5.273-279; 11.751-756), and especially birds (1.397; 2.516; 4.254-255; 7.699-701; 9.563-564; 10.264-266; 11.456-458, 721-724, 751-756; 12.473-479). Vergil's fondness for birds is shown in two brief passages which only a bird lover would have conceived. As Aeneas sails up the Tiber (7.32-34), 'around and above are varied birds which haunt the banks and the bed of the river, lulling the air with their song and flitting about in the groves'.

³⁰Iliad 12.433-435. I give the translation by Lang, Leaf, and Myers.

³¹For Donatus's (= Suetonius's) Life of Vergil see my Vergil (1928), Introduction, §§ 36, 37, 358. C. K. >.

³²See a volume entitled The Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Virgil, by T. F. Roys (Oxford, Blackwell, 1914). C. K. >.

³³On trees in Vergil see J. Sargeant, The Trees, Shrubs, and Plants of Virgil (Oxford, Blackwell, 1920), and a paper entitled Vergil's Treatment of Trees in the Aeneid, by T. W. Valentine, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 23.76-77. C. K. >.

Evander (8.455-456) is roused from sleep in his humble dwelling by the fair light and 'the morning songs of birds beneath his roof'.

In his home beside the Mincius Vergil must often have dreaded and have actually seen the disaster wrought by the river overflowing with the rush of the mountain streams, that were so small except when they were swollen by storms³⁴. At any rate he often speaks of a river in flood overwhelming the tilled land (2.305-307, 496-499, 10.603, 11.297-299, 12.523-524; Georgics 1.322-327). Occasionally he mentions the Mincius, with its green banks fringed with reeds (Eclogues 7.12-13; Georgics 3.14-15). The ship which bears the five hundred Etruscans whom Ocnus leads from Mantua against Mezentius is named Mincius; its figure-head represents the river, the child of Benacus, garlanded with gray sedge (10.205-206). We may think that his love for the Mincius made the Tiber, *amoenus fluvius*, dearer to him upon his removal to Rome (2.782, 7.30-36, 151, 8.28-67 [especially 64], 72, 74-78, 86-89, 95, 96, 330-332, 10.421-423, etc.). Not only have we the well-known reference in the Eclogues (9.27-28) to Mantua and its loss, but with tenderness marked even by a slow melancholy of rhythm Vergil refers to Mantua in the Georgics (2.198), recommending for the keeping of cattle, sheep, or goats 'such a plain as unhappy Mantua lost, where snow-white swans feed in the grassy river'. In the Aeneid (10.200-206) Vergil glorifies Mantua as the head of the northern league of twelve Tuscan cities³⁵. His reference to Como and Lake Garda (Georgics 2.159-160), the source of the Mincius, has been immortalized for us by Tennyson, in The Daisy:

We passed
From Como when the light was gray,
And in my head for half the day
The rich Virgilian rustic measure
Of 'Lari Maxime' all the way
Like ballad-burthen music kept.

Vergil's later residence in Naples, first perhaps in his student days, and afterwards permanently because it furnished a milder climate for his delicate lungs, made him familiar with the Lucrine Lake (Georgics 2.161-164), where he had probably watched what was perhaps the greatest engineering feat of his day, the building of the Portus Julius³⁶. Here, too, he had seen Vesuvius (Georgics 2.224), and to Naples we seem to owe his

³⁴In his edition of the Satires (Sermones) of Horace (The Satires of Horace: London and New York, Macmillan, 1891), Arthur Palmer, in a note on l.1.58 cum ripa simul avolsos ferat Aufidus acer, stresses briefly a point that does not receive the attention it deserves: "...The love of Roman poets for rivers is remarkable; it is especially prominent in Horace, Virgil, and Propertius". Something on the subject will be found in a book to which I am glad to call attention again, The Love of Nature Among the Romans During the Later Decades of the Republic and the First Century of the Empire (London, John Murray, 1912. Pp. xi+394). I gave extracts from this book, with comments, in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 14.49-51, 57-59, 16.17-18. Remarks on Italian rivers and on the attitude of the poets toward them will be found on pages 73-74, 259-275. C. K. >.

³⁵For Mantua in the Aeneid see Professor Catharine Saunders, Vergil's Primitive Italy, 82-86 (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1930). C. K. >.

³⁶For a very recent and interesting account of the Portus Julius see Moses Hadas, Sextus Pompey, 118-119 (Columbia University Press, 1930). In his footnotes Dr. Hadas gives references to the ancient sources of our information concerning the Portus Julius and to modern discussions of this great engineering feat. C. K. >.

one mention of himself by name at the end of the *Georgics* (4.563-566).

With his references to Rome³⁵ we are probably all familiar. The most attractive is the story of the charming hospitality of Evander, who bids Aeneas enter his simple home, saying (8.364-365): 'Dare, O guest, to scorn wealth, and fashion yourself in a manner worthy of a god, and come without disdain for our poverty'. Here Aeneas sees what was to be the Forum and the Palatine and the Capitol, and, with the thrill of all it meant to Vergil, we hear his comment on the then and the now (8.348), 'the Capitol, now golden, once rough with woodland thickets'.

The influence upon Vergil of the renewed interest in art and its revival, of which he saw examples everywhere in Rome, may be noted in his description of the Temple of Juno in Carthage (1.446-494), and of Daedalus's Temple to Apollo at Cumae (6.14-33), with its wonderful carved and storied doors; in *Georgics* 3.1-48, in his figure of the temple which by his poetry he will build to the honor of Augustus; in his references to the Cretan Labyrinth (5.588-591, 6.24-30; he mentions it, however, mainly for its mechanical skill); in his account of the palace of Latinus (7.170-191) with its furnishings, and, by way of prophecy and doubtless as a compliment to the great Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, which must have been dedicated by Augustus shortly before Vergil wrote, and which Horace and Propertius and Ovid all celebrate, Aeneas's vow to Apollo of a temple of solid marble and great shrines of the god in his kingdom, combined with a promise of festal days in his honor (fulfilled by the establishment of the *Ludi Apollinares*, in 212 B. C.).

If we turn from buildings to the description of works of art as shown in armor and in heraldic devices, we recall the Shield³⁶ of Turnus (7.789-792), whereon the story of Io was depicted, and of course, chief of all, the Shield of Aeneas³⁶ (8.627-731) which, when compared with the shield of Achilles, so well marks by its epitome of Roman history the difference between Vergil's "epic of national glory" and Homer's epic of human life. Mr. A. S. Murray³⁷ thinks that Vergil had throughout obtained very definite suggestions from actual works of art for the designs upon the shield, instancing particularly the description of the wolf (630-634), of Augustus at Actium (680-681), and of the Nile (711-713). We observe, too, the devices upon the beak of Aeneas's ship (10.156-158) and upon the ship of his follower Abas (10.170-171), and we note the belt of Pallas (10.496-499), upon which the fatal wedding night of the Danaids is pictured in gold. I have never seen it noted, perhaps only because I have not had access to all the commentators, but I

believe that this also was suggested to Aeneas by the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, so recently built. The statues of Danaus and his fifty daughters formed one of the chief decorations of that temple³⁸.

Finally, we have several separate references to objects of art. The appearance of Aeneas suffused with the rosy light which Venus breathed upon him is compared to ivory wrought with skill, to silver or Parian marble surrounded by gold. Iulus (10.134-138) shines (*micat*) like a gem set in gold, or carved ivory set in rare wood. There is, too, the well-known prophecy of the destiny of Rome (6.847-848), 'Others shall mold with softer grace the breathing bronze and draw the living features from the marble'. There is even a metaphor drawn from art (7.572-573): 'meantime the Saturnian queen put the last hand to the war' (compare Ovid, *Heroides* 16.115; *Tristia* 1.7.28)³⁹.

Of the character of Aeneas so much has been written in recent years⁴⁰ that it is sufficient here to refer to three interesting discussions of the hero—by T. R. Glover, in his valuable book, *Virgil* (1904, 1912), by W. Warde Fowler, in his *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, in a delightful chapter on *Religious Feeling in Vergil* (403-427), and by H. W. Garrod (see note 27, above).

Mr. Fowler finds an intentional development^{40a} in the course of the story in the character of Aeneas into a heroic type, which every Roman would recognize as his own national ideal.

Vergil follows always the bidding of Lucilius⁴¹ that he who would have true virtue must ever put the fatherland first, his parents next, and himself last of all. The personality of Aeneas often seems to us disappointing because it is so frequently lost behind the State which he was to found. Seek he must the Italy which ever fled before him, seeming to elude his grasp like the vanishing shades of the departed which occasionally cheered or spurred him on, but were too unsubstantial for him to embrace, the Italy for a place in whose beautiful sun he must still fight even when he had reached that land of promise.

If Mr. Fowler is right in thinking that Vergil had Cleopatra^{41a} in mind while he was writing of Dido,

³⁵See a paper entitled A Roman 'Hall of Fame', which deals with Aeneid 6, by Mr. Stephen A. Hurlbut, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 13.162-168. Mr. Hurlbut thinks that the descriptions of the Roman worthies in the great passage in Aeneid 6 which has sometimes been described as 'The Parade of the Heroes' were influenced largely by inscriptions on statues of such worthies. See also my remarks on Horace, *Carmina* 1.12, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 12.134-135. C. K. >

³⁶See here also a discussion of Aeneid 1.466-493 by Professor Ernst Riess and Professor Charles Knapp, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 12.132-135. C. K. >

³⁷The reader should recall that Miss Dutton's paper was published in 1916. See note 1, above. Professor Greene's recent paper, *Self-Revelation in Vergil*, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 24.169-173, 177-181, contains much on the character of Aeneas; references are given also to recent discussions by others of Aeneas's character. C. K. >

³⁸See my remarks on this subject in *The Classical Journal* 19 (1924), 210-214, in the course of an article entitled *Legend and History in the Aeneid* (198-214). C. K. >

³⁹See verses 1337-1338 in Marx's edition. <The reference is to Friedrich Marx, *C. Lucili Carminum Reliquiae* (Two Volumes. Teubner, Leipzig, 1894, 1895). I reviewed this work, together with another volume on Lucilius, in *The American Journal of Philology* 29 (1908), 467-482. C. K. >

⁴⁰See pages 206-207 of the article mentioned in note 40a, above. My views were challenged by Professor M. B. Ogle, *The Classical Journal* 20 (1925), 261-270, in a paper entitled *Vergil's Conception of Dido's Character*. Professor Ogle does not, in fact,

³⁵Here reference may be made to Professor H. F. Rebert's paper, *Vergil and the Roman Forum*, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 24.65-68, 73-76.—I will allow myself to stray far enough from Vergil to mention an interesting monograph, entitled *The Rome of Horace*, by Miss Jean Rose Ingersoll, issued as Colorado College Publication, General Series No. 147, Language Series, Volume III, No. 2, 57-103 (November, 1927). C. K. >

³⁶See the remarks of Professor Saunders on the Shield of Turnus and the Shield of Aeneas, on pages 143, 174-175, 175-176 of the book named in note 34, above. C. K. >

³⁷*History of Greek Sculpture*, 3.

every Roman reader who realized it would justify Aeneas in leaving her. Cleopatra had cast her baleful spell upon two great Romans in Vergil's lifetime. Julius Caesar escaped in time. Had his great ancestor lingered in Carthage, what could have awaited him but such disaster as came upon Antony and Cleopatra? Why, then, we may ask, does Vergil draw out all our sympathy in behalf of Dido? Because his own great sympathy for every suffering creature was such that he could not write otherwise. It has always seemed to me doubtful whether we pay sufficient attention to the statement (4.393-396) which Vergil must have meant to show his hero's struggle in fulfilling the inexorable demands of duty, or Fate, call it what we will, and which must have been intended to excuse him for his desertion:

'but the dutiful Aeneas, although he longs to soothe and comfort her in her grief and to turn aside her anxiety with words, groaning much and shaken in mind by great love, yet carries out the commands of the gods and revisits the fleet'.

The discussion of the gods and the supernatural in Vergil may also safely be left to Fowler and Glover. Of Mr. Garrod's sense of the poet's mystic spirit I should like to give one illustration. When Nisus is inspired, as he believes, to start on that night of exploits, he says to Euryalus (9.184-185):

Dine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt,
Euryale, an sua cuique deus fit dira cupido?

'Do the gods add this eager passion to our minds, Euryalus, or does each man's dread desire become a god for him?'

On this Mr. Garrod remarks (165^{ab}):

... is this some god of mythology, or the mystery of our own souls? That is the question which Vergil is always asking himself—and never answering. This priest of the soul of man is never quite assured. This interpreter of the heavenly mysteries cannot yet tell us certainly whether God is a spirit or whether heaven is still as Homer made it.

Professor R. S. Conway¹² finds in Vergil's great message of human sympathy a feeling of the misery and the wrong of the war, a message which, read in the light of our present experiences <1916>, impresses us anew. If we apply Horace's *mutato nomine de te fabula narratur*, 'change the name and the story is told of you', Vergil's lesson to his age may be not without its admonition for us. Professor Conway calls attention to the burning scorn with which Vergil, in the famous contrast between the peaceful toil of the farmer and the corrupt, reckless ambitions of political life (Georgics 2.503-512), points to the roads by which the greatest men of his age had won their way to power (I give his translation: see page 36):

Some fret with labouring oars the treacherous sea
Eager to trade in slaughter, breaking through

differ as widely from me as he thought he did; he seems to me to view the matter *animo*, whereas I was trying to view it *mente*.

In The Classical Journal 22 (1927), 243-252, Professor A. S. Pease discusses Some Aspects of the Character of Dido. In many respects his views of Dido (and of Aeneas) are like my own. C. K. >.

¹²For Mr. Garrod's paper see note 27, above. C. K. >.

¹³The Messianic Idea in Vergil. <For this article, and the book in which it is to be found see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 24.169, note 5. C. K. >.

The pomp and sentinels of ancient kings.
This man will storm a town and sack its homes,
To drink from alabaster, sleep in purple.
His rival hoards up gold and broods alone
On buried treasure. That man's dream is set
On power to sway a crowd by eloquence,
Or so command the acclaim of high and low
That vast assemblies at his coming vie
To fill his ear with plaudits. Here the victors
March proud of brothers' blood upon their hands;
There steal the vanquished, torn from home and
children,
To seek new fatherlands in alien skies.

Professor Conway goes on to show (43) that "the thought that shines through" Vergil's narrative of the war in the second half of the Aeneid

is that no such warfare ought to be; that it is not the natural but the unnatural, or as Virgil calls it, the 'impious' way of settling human questions; that reasonableness and pity are the greatest prerogatives of power.

Why must the world be so slow to learn this lesson and why can each generation learn it only by bitter experience?

As Fowler and Conway show, there seem to have been growing up in the minds of the Romans a sense of sin and a feeling after that which their religion had not yet been able to furnish.

Somehow these evils of the long-continued wars had been for the Romans the punishment for their own shortcomings, private and national. The moralists and the poets were deeply aware that hope for the new government and for the reconstruction which alone could insure the permanence of peace and a return of prosperity lay in a moral and patriotic revival that should reach to the roots of personal character and loyal devotion to eternal Rome. Livy, as he so earnestly sets forth in his Preface, Horace in his Odes, 3.1-6, and Vergil, all writing in the fresh enthusiasm of their new hope, a hope rising from the reorganized government and the restored blessings of peace, in, or shortly after, the year 27, when the title of Augustus had just been given to Octavianus, are animated by the same great moral purpose, that they may teach *virgines puerique* that great Roman lesson concentrated in Ennius's immortal line¹³,

Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque,
that it is upon her ancient moral principles and customs and her noble-spirited men that the Roman State rests and must continue to depend. In work, and love of work, an appreciation of the blessings of a simple life, alike in town or in country, the glory of Rome lies—this is Vergil's message. John Masefield, in an address in this city less than a month ago <1916>, said that "The power of poetry lies in its ability to gladden every effort, deepen every feeling, and hallow every spot". This was Vergil's power, not only for Rome and Italy in the Augustan Age, but for all who read him thoughtfully to-day; it will be his power so long as the human heart remains the same.

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EMILY H. DUTTON

<¹³Annales 500, in J. Vahlen, *Ennianae Poesis Reliquiae* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1903). C. K. >.

REJOINDER TO PROFESSOR OGLE'S REVIEW

In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 24, 38-39 (November 10, 1930) there is a review, by Professor M. B. Ogle, of my edition of Vergil's *Aeneid*, Books I-VI. This review is open to objection, because certain statements in it are, I think, misleading to any who may merely read the review without seeing the book.

I will illustrate by a few examples. On page 38 Professor Ogle says, "Professor Pharr... reintroduces, in spite of the blurb of the publishers to the contrary, a method which has been tried before and, in my judgment, very wisely found wanting..." Apparently Professor Ogle is condemning the vocabulary device whereby the book (see its Preface, vi) "prints adjacent to any given passage the whole of its vocabulary, making it unnecessary ever to turn a page for the purpose of learning the meaning of any word". This is that, no matter how often a word occurs in the text it is always printed in a vocabulary in plain type at the end of the passage in which it occurs. It does not mean simply the inclusion of all new words, as is often done, but it involves the repetition, where necessary, of words and their definitions, so that a student reading the last page of the text has before him just as full information with reference to vocabulary as though he were reading the first page. I believe that this is something new and that it has not "been tried before and found wanting". If the reviewer knows of any editions which use this method, he should give a list, with publishers and dates of publication.

Professor Ogle says (38), "one cannot see why it is 'unnecessary ever to turn a page for the purpose of learning the meaning of any word' (vi)..." On page 11 of the book, prominently displayed under the caption General Directions, one will easily find how to use my book, and will see that the statement just quoted from its Preface is strictly correct.

Because of their frequency and their consequent importance for the student certain words in the text are printed in italics. Of this Professor Ogle says (38): "...The jumble of type, roman and italic, is in itself such an interruption in the continuity of attention of the student..." In matters of this kind it is purely, of course, a question of getting accustomed to a system. If we should decide to write English with as many accents as are used in the printing of French or with as many capital letters as are used in the printing of German, many might find it a little confusing at first; but we do not object to this in French or in German, since we have become accustomed to the system. Neither do we object to an even greater variety of type (usually roman, italics, and black face) found in the commentaries to Greek and Latin texts, nor does one ordinarily find that this helpful device as employed in commentaries is a continual interruption in the continuity of attention.

Again the reviewer says (38), "...one may well ask whether there is not a loss of something even more valuable than time, of much of the responsibility on the student's part of mastering a vocabulary, and of the independence which comes from facing a passage for which vocabulary and notes are not spread enticingly before the eyes". Experiments have shown that students do learn their vocabularies by this method "in the easiest and most natural way possible" (Preface, vii), and that by this method they are distinctly helped, not hindered, in this essential part of their work. In a number of very good text-books the notes are printed at the foot of the page. A vocabulary so placed embodies the same general principle of placing within easy reach of the student all legitimate information. If a vocabulary at the foot of the page is bad, then notes so placed are also bad, and one should revert to the plan of making it as difficult as possible for the student to gain the information he needs for the comprehension and the translation of his author.

If the reviewer finds my criticism of Vergil "unsatisfactory", others find it adequate. Probably no one can ever hope to write a criticism of Vergil which all will accept as satisfactory.

The bibliography, which, the reviewer states (39), "is of no help to any one", is intended to serve a strictly practical purpose. It is clearly stated (10) that "The following books will be found helpful and desirable in the library of any high school where Vergil is being studied..." The bibliography is highly selective, in order that the purchaser for a library with limited funds may not be confused by too great a wealth of material. This bibliography indicates the publishers of these books. Furthermore, the books mentioned in this bibliography themselves contain a wealth of additional bibliographical data. Thus it is hardly justifiable to claim that this bibliography, "because of the lack of necessary bibliographical details, such as publisher, date, edition, is of no help to any one".

If one were merely to read this review, he might suppose that this edition of the *Aeneid* is primarily an exercise in grammar. Professor Ogle seems to have misunderstood the function of an important feature of the book and the true purpose of the grammatical references. Due attention is given in the book to grammar, because a knowledge of grammar is important for the comprehension of any language. I make no apology for giving students a certain amount of training in Latin grammar, both in forms and in syntax, but an attempt has been made to do this in a way that will help most in an understanding of the *Aeneid* and detract least from the study of it as a great piece of literature. Thus a great many constructions are classified for the student, partly as a key to the proper understanding of the sentence, partly to make it unnecessary for the teacher to spend valuable time in requiring the class to dig out constructions. Even though the reviewer so claims, it is not true that the notes of the book are primarily grammatical. In fact, only a small proportion of the whole space is devoted to grammatical material. Neither is it true (39) that Vergil's great poem "was in the schools of fifteen hundred years ago" merely "a text-book on grammar", as any one who is familiar with Vergilian scholarship of that period can readily testify.

Professor Ogle states (39), "...On the other hand, where a note would be welcome, especially from the point of view of interpretation, none is given. Thus, to mention but a few instances, there is no note on 1.453, 2.257, 3.714..." There is a note on the interpretation of the second of these passages (beginning with the preceding line); in omitting notes on the other passages I find myself in very good company. It would be neither possible nor helpful for the author of a text-book to include every note which some one recommended as desirable or perhaps as even essential.

According to Professor Ogle (39), "Cross-references are very rare..." The cross-references are, in fact, more numerous than in some editions, fewer than in others.

"...When they <= cross-references > do appear, they are sometimes not in point..." says the reviewer (39), who has discovered one instance of a slight discrepancy in terminology in the classification of the figures of speech, a discrepancy which, after all, is more apparent than real.

Professor Ogle finds fault because in some notes on implied indirect discourse and indirect questions introduced by *si* the Grammatical Appendix of the book says nothing of this use of *si*. Any one who has ever written a condensed Grammar of any language knows that it is neither necessary nor desirable to include all details; if he did include all details, the Grammar would no longer be brief. The notes as they stand, together with the statements in the Grammatical Appendix, are perfectly clear to the student and are such

as may be found in other commentaries and brief grammatical appendices to school editions of Latin authors.

Professor Ogle disagrees with me on questions of syntax, especially in the classification and the explanation of the subjunctives in 2.756, 1.181-182, and 4.85, and he seeks thereby to place the book in contradiction with itself. Thus he says (39), "...The note on 2.756 explains *si tulisset* as implied indirect discourse and refers to the Grammatical Appendix 390, but nothing is said in that section about this use of *si*, or in App. 355, which one is told there to compare. This *same*¹ construction in 1.181-182, *si videat*, is explained as a subjunctive in indirect question..." It is surely begging the question to call the construction of 1.181-182 the same as that of 2.756, and then use that as a proof that the book is in contradiction with itself. I find myself here in agreement with Bennett and other competent scholars on all these points.

Professor Ogle criticizes (39) my discussion of *j*² and its value in composition and he finds the generalization in Appendix 6, b "unwarranted and... contradicted by such a word as *reiecit* in 5.421, where the note reads, 'pronounce *rejjēcit* here...'". The prosody of *reiecit*, pronounced *reiecit* here, is best explained on the analogy of such forms as *reccido*, *redduco*, *reliquiae*, and, possibly in this case, on the analogy of such forms as *repperi* and *rettuli*. Of course a brief Grammar can not deal with all exceptions or apparent exceptions to a general rule; otherwise it would have been necessary to mention here that Vergil used *reice* as a word of two syllables and in contradiction to the general rule, which Professor Ogle seeks to establish. The reviewer goes on to say (39), "there is no hint, however <in the book>, that in compounds of *iacio* the first syllable is practically always long by position in Augustan poetry..." Surely the paragraphs in the book on quantity, combined with the paragraph here under discussion, contain more than a hint that in compounds of *iacio* the first syllable is regularly long in Vergil. As a consonant, *i* of course 'makes position' in most compounds of *iacio*, since the prefixes of most of them end in a long vowel, or in a diphthong, or in a consonant. Consequently such words as *abiicio*, *adiicio*, *coniicio*, *deicio*, *eiicio*, *iniicio*, and *proiicio* have the first syllable long.

Professor Ogle especially objects (39) to the treatment of *manu*, 2.645, a case much debated by commentators. Here an editor or teacher should show the student the possibility of more than one interpretation, something which the note on the passage attempts to do. Again Professor Ogle says (39), "...Even when he gives, as he is fond of doing, alternative explanations of case or tense or mood..., no suggestion is made that the choice may result in a difference of interpretation". I am convinced that the giving of alternative explanations of disputed constructions is very desirable for the student. If a student really does not understand that an ablative absolute construction, for example, would necessitate a different interpretation from that of a dative of reference, he regularly finds in these cases the proper references to the Grammatical Appendix; they are most easily available there.

Professor Ogle finds fault (39) with some notes which, he claims, "give one a false idea of the linguistic value of a form..." He cites the notes on *potitur*, *exoritur*, and *oritur*. Since these verbs are of a mixed type, they are classified by grammarians sometimes as of the third conjugation, sometimes as of the fourth, as in my book, with the forms of the other conjugation treated as variants. My treatment of these forms is in accord with that in the standard Latin Grammars; it is pedagogically sound and linguistically justifiable. A learned note, indicating, for example, that some of these third conjugational forms

seem to be due to the requirements of the meter, others to analogy, would certainly be out of place in a school edition of Vergil.

Professor Ogle states (39), "...Forms such as *accestis*..., *extinxem*..., *derexisti*... are printed in the notes as *acces(is)tis*, *extinx(iss)em*, *der:x(is)ti*; on the first word only is there a remark, a reference to App. 204. Since this section deals with the syncope of -*v*- perfects, and not a word is said there about the -*sis*- forms, one is forced to conclude, and the method of printing strengthens the conclusion, that the editor considers these forms, *accestis*, at least, to be the result of syncope". As a matter of fact, the title of Appendix, § 204 is "Syncope and Shorter Forms". Certainly *accestis* can be explained under such a section. One is not obliged to refer it to the syncope forms if he prefers to consider it merely as a shorter form, due for example to haplography³.

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PROFESSOR OGLE'S REPLY TO PROFESSOR PHARR

In my review of Professor Pharr's book I tried to tell the truth about it as I saw the truth and to give definite evidence in support of my opinions. This evidence Professor Pharr has not always interpreted correctly.

Although I expressly (38) give him credit for introducing several new devices and mention specifically his method of presenting vocabularies, he makes my criticism of the jumble of type in the printing of the text of the Aeneid apply solely to his method of printing vocabularies and refers to "an even greater variety of type... found in the commentaries to Greek and Latin texts..." The question is not one of the difference of type found in commentaries; although I know of no modern commentary in which there is *continuously* employed a mixture of Roman, italic, and black face type, nor is it one of a vocabulary device, although a reviewer has certainly the right to an opinion that the device will not do all that is claimed for it. What I tried to say was that no modern editor has printed a text as Professor Pharr prints his text of Vergil and that his method is, to employ his words, "an interruption in the continuity of attention". This method of printing was in common use a century or so ago. For a good example of it I may refer to a Latin translation of the Poetics of Aristotle published at the University of Glasgow in 1745. Professor Pharr thinks this a good method. I do not.

My query whether the method of printing both vocabulary and notes at the foot of the page may not entail a loss of responsibility and of independence on the student's part Professor Pharr answers by the argument that, because in some good text-books the notes are at the foot of the page, a better text-book will result if both notes and vocabulary are placed there. A reviewer has certainly the right to express his doubts on this point.

He finds fault with me because of my remark that the bibliography is of no help to anyone and says, "... This bibliography indicates the publishers of these books..." It does for twelve books out of the twenty-four mentioned; of the other twelve only the names of the authors and the titles are given. I do not criticize the size of his bibliography; I criticize the method of presenting it since this fails to give the practical help he claims it gives.

¹What is printed here is the *second* version of Professor Pharr's rejoinder to Professor Ogle. In writing this second rejoinder Professor Pharr had before him Professor Ogle's rejoinder to his first version. Professor Ogle's remarks, printed in this issue, are a revised version of his reply to Professor Pharr; they differ, however, in no essential from the remarks in the first version. To protagonist and deuteragonist fair play has thus been accorded. Certainly, attention enough and space enough have been accorded to Professor Pharr's book. C. K. >

¹The italics here are mine.

²Professor Pharr means consonantal *i*. C. K. >

I agree fully with Professor Pharr that a knowledge of grammar is important for the comprehension of any language, but I still cannot see that he has done in his book what he claims to have done, namely, make grammar an aid to a proper understanding of the poet's meaning. To expect a High School student to find from references to the Grammatical Appendix the different interpretations that may arise from alternative explanations of case or tense or mood implies a faith in the understanding of such a student which I cannot share. It is certainly a poor defence against my charge of the lack of interpretative notes as contrasted with purely grammatical notes to say that he finds himself in good company in omitting such notes on certain lines. I did not claim that an editor should include every note which some one recommends as desirable. I merely expressed my opinion that on many passages, of which I quote three as examples, which are among the most difficult in Vergil from the point of view of interpretation, there is no note that will help toward an interpretation. In contrast to this reticence there is, I repeat (see 38), "hardly a use of case or tense or mood, no matter how simple, how regular, how often repeated, of which there is not a brief explanation with reference to the Grammatical Appendix..."

Professor Pharr attacks my statement (39) that "sometimes <cross-references> are not in point" and says that I have discovered "one instance of a slight discrepancy in terminology". I said nothing about terminology and I discovered not one but several instances of discrepancies in Notes and Appendix. The one discrepancy which he admits I cited as the first illustration of my general statement and I then gave three more instances where his cross-references are not in point. Why does Professor Pharr make the other illustrations which I give as examples of the same carelessness refer to criticism which I did not make? He charges me with finding "fault because in some notes on implied indirect discourse and indirect questions introduced by *si* the Grammatical Appendix of the book says nothing of this use of *si*..." I was not especially concerned with the omission of an explanation of this use of *si*; I was concerned with the author's inconsistency. I cited three notes on the same construction; Professor Pharr may not agree that the construction in 1.181-182 is the same as that in 2.756; he must agree that it is the same as that in 4.85 since in both notes he refers to App. 349, Indirect Question. The three notes, however, give three different explanations of the construction (1.182, indirect question; 2.756, implied indirect discourse; 4.85, implied indirect question), and reference is made to two different sections of the Appendix, neither one of which refers to this use of *si*, nor does a third section which one is bidden to compare. I said nothing about disagreeing with him on the classification of the subjunctives in these passages, but merely cited his three notes and the references to the Appendix as the second illustration of my general statement that sometimes the cross-references are not in point. He says that I criticize his "discussion of 'j' and its value in composition..." My criticism was not so much concerned with these matters as with the discrepancy between the sweeping generalization in App. 6, b and the note on 5.421. This was the third illustration of my general statement that sometimes cross-references are not in point. I certainly do disagree with Professor Pharr, as he charges, on questions of syntax, but I just as certainly made no statement to that effect, nor did I especially object "to the treatment of *manu*, 2.645, a case much debated by the commentators..." I did not raise the question of case. I said that the note on *manu*, 2.645, is inconsistent with the note on 2.434, to which one is referred, and that the punctuation of the text of 2.433-434 is inconsistent with the note on 433. This was the fourth illustration of my general statement that sometimes cross-references are not in point. Nowhere in my review did I

express disagreement with the author on the matters of which he speaks. I simply pointed out that the author "sometimes" disagrees with himself.

Professor Pharr criticizes my objection to his notes on *potitur* (3.561; 4.217) and implies that I would have had him write a long and learned note on the subject. Nothing was further from my mind. I cited these notes simply as an illustration of my second general statement (39) that "In some cases the notes give one a false idea of the linguistic value of a form..." The *i* is not "irregularly short", as Professor Pharr says in his note on 4.217, but regularly short when this verb is in a finite form. As a second illustration of the same general statement I cited the author's treatment of certain *-sis-* perfects, or rather omission of treatment. His reply is that *accestis* can be explained under App. 204, "Syncopated and Shorter Forms". Certainly it can, but it is not so explained by Professor Pharr. Since three paragraphs of this section of the Appendix deal with contracted, i. e. syncopated forms, and since the last paragraph deals only with *-ere* for *-erunt* and *-re* for *-ris*, the student will conclude, it seems to me, that *accestis* is a syncopated form, that is, will get a false idea of the linguistic value of this form. It is not a matter of preference, as Professor Pharr says, between syncopation and haplology; such a form cannot have been due to syncopation. I felt, therefore, and still feel that the author's Notes and Appendix would suggest to the student a false idea of the linguistic value of these *-sis-* forms.

Professor Pharr's comment on my use of the word *grammar* needs no comment from me. That I am familiar with the ancient conception of *ars grammatica* and that I know enough about the *grammatici* of fifteen hundred years ago not to confuse the modern idea of grammar with their idea of *grammatica* is shown by my article, Some Aspects of Mediaeval Latin Style, in *Speculum* 1(1926), 170-189.

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MARBURY B. OGLE

THE NEW YORK CLASSICAL CLUB

The second luncheon meeting of the New York Classical Club for 1930-1931 was held at the Casa Italiana, Columbia University, on Saturday morning, February 28, at 10:30 A. M.

Professor John W. Spaeth, Jr., of Wesleyan University, spoke on Caesar and Cicero Among the Poets. He quoted the scant remains of Caesar's verse and described the subject matter of Cicero's verse. He believes that full credit has not been given to the debt that the development of the dactylic hexameter in Latin owes to Cicero.

At the luncheon which followed at the Men's Faculty Club there were present 121 members and guests. Professor George V. Edwards, of Brooklyn College, presented to Professor Spaeth a *denarius* struck by Caesar at the time when he sent two legions to Pompey. Professor Edwards spoke of the poetic feeling of Caesar as exemplified by the design on this coin. Professor Frank Gardner Moore, of Columbia University, suggested a plan for reading in one year all of Cicero's extant works including the poetry.

Dr. Eugene A. Colligan, Associate Superintendent in charge of Junior High Schools, New York City, and a member of the Club, delivered a stirring address on the place of Latin in the Public Schools. He expressed his intention of appointing teachers on the Junior High School Latin list to Schools where there were Latin pupils, even though the pupils were not numerous enough to make up a full teaching programme. He well said that he believed it was better to have teachers of Latin instructing Latin and French classes than to have teachers of French filling such positions.

EDWARD COYLE, *Censor*